1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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brought from Albany, was taken by some Indians of the Chippeway nation, and destined to be put to death. A Frenchman, impelled by motives of friendship and humanity, found means to steal the prisoner, and kept him so concealed for some time, that although the most diligent search was made, the place of his confinement could not be discovered. At last, however, the unfortunate man was betrayed by some false friend, and again fell into the power of the Indians, who took him across the river to be burned and tortured. Tied to the stake, and the fire burning by his side, his thirst, from the great heat, became intolerable, and he begged that some drink might be given to him. It is a custom with the Indians, previous to a prisoner being put to death, to give him what they call his last meal; a bowl of pottage or broth was therefore brought to him for that purpose. Eager to quench his thirst, he put the bowl immediately to his lips, and the liquor being very hot, he was dreadfully scalded. Being a man of a very quick temper, the moment he felt his mouth burned, he threw the bowl with its contents full in the face of the man who had handed it to him. "He is mad! He is mad!" resounded from all quarters. The bystanders considered his conduct as an act of insanity, and immediately untied the cords with which he was bound, and let him go where he pleased.

This fact was well known to all the inhabitants of Detroit, from whom I first heard it, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by Mr. Chapman himself, who was established as a merchant at that place.

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SUICIDE is not considered by the Indians either as an act of heroism or of cowardice, nor is it with them a subject of praise or blame. They view this desperate act as the consequence of mental derangement, and the person who destroys himself is to them an object of pity. Such cases do not frequently occur. Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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(Acquaintance of mine
Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my
762 [278] the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds and married other lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of those unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling. Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children; for it is the [586] custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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a fortnight in their new habitation, when, as he returned one day from a morning's hunt, he found the unwelcome visitor at his home, in close conversation with his faithless wife. This last stroke was more than he could bear; without saying a single word, he took off a large cake of his sugar, and with it came to my house, which was at the distance of eight miles from his temporary residence. It was on a Sunday, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, that he entered my door, with sorrow strongly depicted on his manly countenance. As he came in he presented me with his cake of sugar, saying, "My friend! you have "many a time served me with a good pipe of tobacco, "and I have not yet done any thing to please you. Take "this as a reward for your goodness, and as an acknow-"ledgment from me as your friend." He said no more, but giving me with both his hands a warm farewel squeeze, he departed and returned to the camp. At about two o'clock in the afternoon a runner from thence passing through the town to notify his death at the village two miles farther, informed us of the shocking event. He had immediately on his return, remained a short time in his house, indulging in the last caresses to his dear innocent children; then retiring to some distance, had eaten the fatal root, and before relief could be administered by some persons who had observed him staggering from the other side of the river, he was on the point of expiring, and all succours were vain.

The last whom I have to mention, was also a married man, but had no children. He had lived happy with his wife, until one day that she fell into a passion and made use to him of such abusive language as he could not endure. Too highminded to quarrel with a woman, he resolved to punish her by putting an end to his existence. Fortunately he was seen in the first stage of his fits, and was brought into a house, where a strong emetic diluted in lukewarm water, the composition of which I have al-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ready described,* was forcibly poured down his throat. He recovered after some time, but never was again the strong healthy man he had been before; his wife however took warning from this desperate act, and behaved better ever after.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DRUNKENNESS.

IN treating of this subject, I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished, and which it is the object of this work to delineate, and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better. I am not one of those wild enthusiasts who would endeavour to persuade mankind that savage life is preferable to a state of civilisation; but I leave it to every impartial person to decide, whether the condition of the healthy sober Indian, pursuing his game through forests and plains, is not far superior to that of the gangrened drunken white man, rioting in debauchery and vice?

I have already before taken notice† of the assertion

* See ch. 29. p. 218.

† See ch. 28. p. 215.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. 783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45; Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase; This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Recitation of Vision by Ko'kwal·epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my defunct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1884), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1809 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'ulas is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ggelae "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is aemata'xpi.i'yo "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nace'ggi.xi., "I lie down."

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584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 92-93.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 53.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth
[787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a
[527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually
[758] in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
762 accomplished in most cases by poison taken
[727] by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were sometimes ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266 cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomiting was thought to relieve a sense of guilt,
777 and also to bring luck.[30]

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23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 256.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

13 Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P. 36, B]

156 787 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high 154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and ● [762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce approved social behavior.[34] The father spent 593 much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of [462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women 562 were described as being given to petty [157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.